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ABSTRACT

A study was done to explore student perceptions of school environments in multiethnic, New York State middle schools and the impact of those perceptions on teacher efforts to develop social interaction within the schools. Using a survey questionnaire, 804 students from 5 middle schools selected for their multiethnic characteristics participated. Students were from all ability and middle school grade levels. Findings indicate that multiethnic middle schools appear to have low structures, high social relationships, and rather ambivalent feelings about relationships with teachers as well as low academic initiative. In addition, along racial lines, both Black and White students see their teachers as interested in them, but with emphasis on different factors. Hispanic American students emphasize social issues with higher concern for peer friendliness and school loyalty. Black students emphasize group solidarity and feel that they are conscientious about school but that school is monotonous. White students see their teachers as interested in them in connection with social activities. They also emphasize being busy with group activities, orderlines, new ideas, teacher efforts to plan, and good manners among students. Overall, the data show a complexity of deep psychological underpinnings of ethnic perceptions driving behavior among students. Included are 6 tables and 29 references. (JB)

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Ethnic Differences in Responses to Schooling: Perceptions of Organizational Climate in Multiethnic Middle Schools

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Introduction: The present inquiry is a study of an of the complexity of organizational climate when the student perceptions of school environments, including the behavioral complications of language and ethnicity. 804 multiethnic middle school students were studied within five multiethnic middle schools. The original inquiry had the purpose of finding different perceptions of organizational climate within their schools. These research questions were confirmed and there were significant differences in perceptions of climate within schools based on the ethnic-cultural and experiential backgrounds of the students. The present investigation explores in detail what these differences mean for teachers who would like to develop the social interaction of multiethnic schools and the development of the potentialities of all students within their schools.

> *"School plays a major role in the culture students develop. Like family and neighborhood, school affects how students understand and pursue their life chances....The school context, containing social relations defined by race, social class, and gender, can produce a student culture in which young people accept and live out their parents place in a stratified society, in spite of the school's espoused mission as equalizer and escalator to a better life...."(Grant and Sleeter, p. 19).*

Theoretical Framework:

The theoretical basis for this investigation is based upon organizational climate theory and is explained in terms of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. Organizational climate is used to obtain reflective perceptions by students on their responses to the organizational environment in which they participate. The Whorf Hypothesis is used in order to understand how perceptions can change within common organizational experiences. This hypothesis states that people from different native language backgrounds organize their information differently, in accordance with native cognitive structures derived in early maternal experiences based together with the structure of the language. In our consideration of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis we will assume that this hypothesis can be extended to culturally-based experiences, such as those experiences included in a study of organizational climate, and including native language and cultually-based experiences among a minority group students who attend school together and have a common framework for perceptions of mutual events.

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis:

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is used as the perspective from which to view the contrasting sensitivities and insights of students in multiethnic middle schools. It should also be understood that multitudes of students in multiethnic schools have different developmental histories and cultural experiences: the strength of ethnicity, school and socioeconomic status as influences in numerous conceptions of organizational climate in schools is explored within this context.

Whorf opened up the issue of the basic patterns of linguistically regulated knowledge: the cultural essentials of group interchange, manners of speaking, compulsive forms of invariable behavior, the particular impact of community accomplished patterns of social relationships, frameworks of semantic and cognitive understanding. (Bernstein, p. 159).

Human beings are not on the earth alone, nor are they apart in group endeavors, they are dependant upon the sensitivity of the particular language which is the instrument of processing behavior for their society. The concrete universe is spontaneously built up on the language habits of the group because the language customs of a group compel definite choices for interpretation (Sapir, pp. 75-93).

The linguistic arrangements of a language are not simply an imitative mechanism for voicing ideas, but rather is the basis for the configuration for ideas, the guidelines for introspective activity, for cogitation of thoughts, for formulation of mental activities. Conception of ideas is not an free lance procedure, but is part of the characteristic grammar. We examine substance connected with rules determined by native language. We cut reality up, arrange it into ideas , and attribute importance to them as we do, because we are participant in a compact to con ceptualize in this way--an agreement that accommodates the entire speech community and is systematic in the standards of our language and behavior. (Whorf, pp. 212-13).

Each language and every specialized sublanguage includes different issues, values and boundaries that curb against divergent points of view (p. 247).

> ***"And every language is a vast pattern-system, different from others, in which are culturally ordained the forms and categories by which the personality not only communicates, but also analyzes nature, notices or neglects types of relationship and phenomena, channels his reasoning, and builds the house of his consciousness." (Whorf, p. 252).***

Underlying each language there is a psychological matrix controlling this synthetic chopping up of the continuing spread and flow of existence through words and syntax in a distinctive manner. The configurations guiding word arrangements are more important than the words included in the sentences. "Words and speech are not the same thing." (p. 353)

Whenever societal communities are recognized, the conception formed by these names is subject to the caprice of demographic change. A language disappears with the men who speak it. The structure of language is protected by the need to ensure understanding. Language is sensitive to the influence of demo-

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graphic metamorphosis , but only in so far as its function is not impaired. (Levi-Strauss, pp. 14, 21, 66-67, 116-17).

Slobin writing about the psycholinguistic processes involved in learning language in school says language has been looked upon as a "window to the mind." But, he says that the mind cannot be seen, it leaves clues, like traces in a cloud chamber; it is more like trying to discern the workings of the mind from traces of speech. Speech is behavior which goes from thoughts to words. Constituents of the cognitive patterns of behavior are related to syntax, semantics, grammar and linguistic meanings synthesized within the context of activities and related to some array of knowledge, social conventions and linguistic conceptions. Culture, language and experience are the basis for thinking and collection of ideas into a time-ordered entity. (pp. 2-6).

Grammar makes it practical to leave much of the intention of a message implicit. Speaker and listener share the grammar, so the essential conceptual notions need not be communicated directly. They are part of the upbringing and common knowledge of language users. The existence of implicit knowledge is "....One of the main reasons human languages have complex grammars is that time constraints make it impossible to express everything explicitly in the give-and-take of ongoing communication. *Communication relies on shared knowledge--knowledge of the language and also knowledge of the world. It is not always easy to pull these aspects of language apart."* (Slobin, pp. 9-10).

Piaget also speaks of perception of visual images in terms of child development. Piaget suggests that intelligence derives from perception by extensions of simple perceptions to perceptions of more complex situations. Like Whorf, Piaget speaks of perceptual structuring (Piaget, pp.xxvii-xxix). Underlying the student's experiences in school, all behavior and all perceptions are tangled up together with ethnic, linguistic and cultural experiences. Experiences with a group of peers from a particular neighborhood, who may attend the same school, are influential factors in what students experience: how they perceive events around them; the fashion in which they experience it and the style with which they react to situations.

Attention needs be given the diverse experiences students may have in school. Students are members of the organizational bureaucracy, as are teachers and school administrators. They contribute toward the personality of the school's culture even though they do not have 'property rights,' or sense of 'tenure;' they should have a sense of a legal right to schooling. If students do not have a sense of ownership, as citizens, then perhaps this is a part of the problems schools deal with.

The Organizational Climate Construct:

Organizational Climate is defined as the organizational counterpart of personality. In a manner of speaking, organizations have personalities, just like people do. If we walk into a school building we are immediately impressed with a certain feeling about the place: this is a happy place, or a serious place, a place where children do alot of art work; where there are nurturing relationship among teachers and children. Whatever we might say about individual personalities, we can say much the same thing about schools (Halpin, pp. 131-2; Stern, p. 5).

In 1936 Kurt Lewin developed Field Theory: "Every scientific psychology must take into account whole situations, i.e., the state of both the person and the environment." (Stern, 1971, p. 3-4). In 1938 Field Theory was developed by H.A. Murray in his development of a taxonomy of personalities. In his writing he said: "...a statistical answer leaves unexplained the uncommon, exhibited-by-the individual, response....Averages obliterate the 'individual characters of individual organisms', and so fail to reveal the complex interaction of forces which determine each concrete event." (Murray, pp. ix-x). Based upon these theoretical foundations George Stern developed the organizational climate construct stating the formula: **[B = f (N x P)]**. That is to say, **Behavior** is a function of personality **Needs** and environmental **Press**.

In this study 804 middle school students responded to the *Elementary and Secondary Environment Index*, companion to the *Organizational Climate Index* developed by George Stern. This questionnaire contains 61 true-false questions about their school. In asking students to react to questions about the organizational climate of their school, the children may react in terms of their personal understanding and involvement in school. Part of what they are reacting to is a somewhat different set of experiences than other children; another way of seeing common school experiences; along with a diverse interpretation and a distinctive cultural frame of reference.

In responding "true," or "false" to the climate questions, one of the questions asks, "Many student desks or locker are messy, some even dirty." This is a fairly concrete question about something that can be seen on any given day. Yet, students from fairly meticulous homes would perceive these lockers as dirty, and children from unkempt homes would perceive them as clean. A student from a nurturing home would be more likely to perceive the teacher as being angry, rather than nurturing. A student who feels somewhat alienated from the general activities of the school might perceive a greater need to affiliate in social group activities.

Extending this concept to other questions would cause us to see that the students react within a cultural frame of reference. This frame of reference causes them to perceive common school events in accordance with group background and experience, causing perceived experiences to cluster together at varying levels of importance.

The Climate Construct as a Means of studying Ethnolinguistic and Cultural Perceptions:

Perception and experience are closely connected together. New events are defined in terms of what is previously known. Information is withdrawn from the stimulation of the moment and interpreted and categorized in terms of past experiences. Individuals tend too perceive experiences in the way they expect to perceive them and fit them together with previously known sets of information. Events are perceived and understood in terms of previously known cultural symbols, values, norms, terms and roles (Hollander, p. 127-131).

The basis of social events occurs within the boundaries of the experienced situation, which is social and interpersonal. People may contemplate, analyze and plan in solitude, but behavior and interpersonal learning take place in encounters with other persons. Social controls demand a limited range of behaviors from the individual. The person's own needs, such as the need for acceptance from others, provides the condition under which the individual conforms to external demands. The

individual will respond only to those external forces which he is perceiving and experiencing at the time. The person's internal condition may cause him to repress various environmental stimuli. (Moment and Zaleznick, p. 5)

The main theme of adolescence is group identity. Adolescents must come to terms with new bodies and new potentialities forthinking and feeling. Adolescents must rearrange the image of self in accordance with a new body, a body that is maturing earlier or later than age group peers, and a new surge for independence. Group membership involves belonging and exclusion. Acceptance and rejection point to the despotic nature of social relationships. Inclusion or exclusion may be on personal or ethnic grounds (Stone and Church, p. 383-4, 437).

Among adolescents, group identity takes on momentous proportionsas they seek to affiliate themselves in social relationships outside the home (Gay, pp. 653-5). Given the opportunity to do so people "...gravitate toward places with others who share the same personal idiosyncrasies and there behave typically in ways that are consistent with the specific setting in which they have come together (Stern, p. 1). Group identity begins with ready-made endowments shared with others according to birth, language, religion, family, custom and identifiable cultural symbols. These identifiable symbols are attached to prior experiences that make the person feel comfortable with others that are trusted and with whom one feels a bond of commonality. (Glazer and Moynihan, pp. 31-33).

Students cluster together within informal groupings in schools according to various ethnic and cultural arrangements, and approach school work with reference to other members of social groups with which they identify. "...children from a given family background, when put in schools of different social composition, will achieve at different levels. This effect is less for white pupils than for any other minority group without much educational strength when put with classmates with strong educational backgrounds, his achievement is likely to increase....it turns out that the composition of the student body has a strong relationship to the achievement of Negro and other minority pupils." (Coleman, p. 22).

The difficulty is not with the subjective aspects of behavioral observation, but in "the complexity of interaction forms" (Stern, p. 184) Leading a school for younger adolescents becomes a momentous responsibility when one realizes that there are noteworthy dissimilarities in perceptions of everyday school events. The schools studied tend to have a few formidable difficulties; none of these schools seemed to have any after school activities and there seemed to be a degree of disorganization in all of them. The surface differences we would see in these schools extend far deeper than skin pigmentation.

Cultural characteristics among an ethnic group include behavioral standards, customs, beliefs, interpersonal practices, etiquette, sanctions and disciplinary practices, acquired habits, and ways of thinking and doing things. These are socially learned and transmitted aspects of social interaction; systems of interrelated and interdependent patterns of response among a distinctive community of people.

Given that teachers must communicate and motivate; administrators must deal with disciplinary problems and issues; and cooperating citizens must come together to agree on common goals;what about a school where everyone perceives things accordined five middle schools, this re-examination groups the students separates ethnic groups so that factor analytic procedures can be performed for each ethnic group. Overall school issues are not a problem in this study; rather, the concern is the distinctive comprehension of environment based upon cultural background and upbringing is the issue as it impacts upon the overall flow of school relationships.

In the original study among students who identified themselves as Black, White, Hispanic, Oriental, American Indian or Other, there were significant differences in the perceptions of ethnic groups in four of five middle schools for the organizational climate factors of School Structures and Academic Initiative. In the fifth middle school a majority of the students were from one ethnic group, so it is apparent that the perceptions of the one group dominated the perceptions of the other students.

Attention was also given to data which combined ethnic groups and socioeconomic status together as covariates. Covariate analysis was used so that schools could be controlled as a variable and the data could be studied as a whole. In this case there were very exceptional differences in all of the organizational factors. Most of these differences were significant beyond the .0001 level.

Participation, Transaction Costs and Ownership of School Culture Among Ethnic Students:

Students do have legal standing in the school and an enforced legal contract as the *clients* of the school; they do engagein the exchange process among organizational members, contribute toward the fundamental work of the school, these students have certain rights to space and time. These aspects of student participation in the bureaucratic culture of the school would indicate that students should be included in the definition of organizational participation, but may be treated differently in the exchange process that occurs in the interaction of teachers and students from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds .

Jones has suggested a proposition for viewing organizational complicity by various levels of group members in the productivity of an organization. Jones suggests that "culture acts as a cognitive map that influences the way in which the context is defined," for it provides the selection of "norms and values through which people enact events...."shared knowledge of social structure,...consists instead and entirely in the enforceable character of actions in compliance with the expectatancies of everyday life as a morality." (p. 454).

Jones defines organizational participation among employees in a business so that professionals, who cannot be supervised closely, are given property rights (such as "longevity in employment rights") in the organization. Obviously, the conditions under which students participate in the school as an organization are very different from the conditions under which the teachers participate. Indeed, some groups of students will feel less affinity for the school culture and will involve themselves differently: with different feelings of ownership and conditions for participation. For example, a black student in a school with all white teachers may expressother attitudes about school than if the school had some black teachers. Similarly, the student will feel differently about school participation if the student is a member of a large identifiable group, then if he or she is a member of a small minority group within the school. Group identity is apart of the life of an adolescent, more than for adults. The size of the group, the self-

Students included in the Study:

The 804 middle school students included in the study were in five New York State multiethnic middle schools selected for the multiethnic characteristics of their schools. Students in these schools were from every ability level, and every grade. Students were from every socioeconomic category, although Hispanics seemed to be weighted toward the lower end of the socioeconomic spread. There was one low ability class in School C that was unable to complete the questionnaires when asked to do so. Otherwise the students willingly participated in the study.

Table 1:

Summary of Students By Ethnic Identity and School

Ethnic Group:	Schl A	Schl B	Schl C	Schl D	Schl E	Group Total:
Black	49.5%	26.4%	24.9%	24.5%	51.4%	253
White	40.0%	31.8%	55.1%	16.5%	4.7%	244
Hisp	5.3%	33.1%	13.2%	46.2%	34.6%	233
Orntl	2.1%	--	1.0%	7.2%	--	22
Other/Multi-ethnic:	3.2%	8.9%	4.8%	5.6%	4.0%	52
Schl N=	95	148	205	249	107	804

Table 2:

Overview of Student Ethnic Identity by SES Rankings

SES Rnkng	Black	White	Hispanic	Oriental	Other
0-15	39	26	70	1	11
16-27	11	11	18	2	2
28-37	51	57	74	8	4
38-47	63	72	35	2	12
48-58	57	52	21	3	9
59-71	25	24	12	5	4
72-88	4	2	2	1	0

General Findings:

The findings on Table 3 address the strong effects of ethnicity, socioeconomic status upon procedures applied by some students as they encounter the school environment. From the next table it may also be seen that these covariates affect the different climate factors with various intensities; but also that the factors become less important as one goes down the table. This part of the study investigated the overall effects of ethnicty, with controls applied for school, socioeconomic status, and ability group. This procedure allowed us to partial out the effects of differences in school climates, ability groups and SES, in order to see the main effect of ethnicity upon perceptions of climate.

The four main factors of school structures, social relationships, teacher responsiveness, and academic initiative indicate major dimensions of climate in middle schools. These multiethnic middle schools appear to have low structures, high social relationships, and rather ambivalent feelings about relationships with teachers. Academic Initiative was also low.

Table 3:

Analysis of Covariance of Organziational Climate Factors by Ethnic Groups, Controlled for School, Socioeconomic Status and Ability Groups (N=804)

Sources of Variation:	Mean Sqr:	DF	F-ratio	Signif-icance	Regressn Coefficnt
School Structures Factor:					
Covariates:	5.814	3	5.814	>.0001	
School	8.558	1	10.912	>.001	-0.090
SES	9.069	1	11.564	>.001	-0.006
Ability Group	2.144	1	2.734	--	0.044
Main Effect:					
Ethnic Groups	6.133	4	7.820	>.0001	
Explained	6.919	7	8.822	>.0001	
Residual	0.784	795			
Total	0.838	802			
Social Relationships Factor:					
Covariates:	5.144	3	7.315	>.0001	
School	11.236	1	15.977	>.0001	0.104
SES	2.031	1	2.888	--	0.003
Ability Group	3.983	1	5.663	>.01	-0.059
Main Effect:					
Ethnic Group	1.996	4	0.499	--	
Explained	2.621	7	3.727	>.001	
Residual	0.703	795			
Total	0.702	802			
Teacher Responsiveness Factor:					
Covariates:	2.086	3	3.164	>.05	
School	5.881	1	8.919	>.0001	0.104
SES	0.017	1	0.026	--	0.000
Ability Group	3.983	1	5.663	>.01	-0.059
Main Effect:					
Ethnic Group	1.072	4	1.626	>.001	
Explained	1.808	7	2.742	>.001	
Residual	0.659	795			
Total	0.669	802			
Academic Initiative Factor:					
Covariates:	10.208	3	19.514	>.0001	
School	1.397	1	2.670	--	0.036
SES	7.434	1	14.211	>.0001	-0.005
Ability Group	16.112	1	30.798	>.0001	0.120
Main Effect:					
Ethnic Groups	2.672	4	5.109	>.0001	
Explained	8.362	7	15.985	>.0001	
Residual	0.523	795			
Total	0.592	802			

Ethnically-Based Factor Analysis:

Three identical factor analytic studies were performed o the data in accordance with ethnic groupings of middle schoo students. From the existing data set, data were selected a cording to the ethnic identification of the students. As you wil see the data pool was large enough to have a substantial dat

source for each ethnically-based factor analytic study. In accordance with the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis we wanted to see different ethnic group peeptions of organizational climate of their schools and the cognitive patterns or arrangements of those perceptions.

Factor analysis is a method for determining the number and nature of underlying variables among a large number of measures. If items seem to be measuring the same thing they will load together on the same factor. A factor is a construct indicating correlations among large data sets. All items load to some ex tent on all factors, but usually these factor loadings are so small that this is meaningless information. Items with factor loadings less than + or -.30 have been eliminated from the table below [except in the last one or two factors, factors 10-12, where this was stretched to + or -.25 in order to have more than one item]. (Kerlinger, pp. 650-687).

The findings in the three parallel factor solutions below indicate a complexity that is far beyond multiple facets of organizational climate that we had searched for when we began the study. The complexity of these findings indicates differences in approaches to social situations, feelings about school work, participation in social activities and group activities, attending to tasks, and perceptions of how they are treated by their teachers.

The findings in table 4 indicate different numbers of factors according to the different ethnic groups, tapping different items with varying degrees of emphasis, whilesome did not load sufficiently on any factors that would indicate deep feelings so that they correlated together consistently among all of the students. Roughly a third of the items did not load consistently on any factors among any of the ethnic groups. This probably has a great deal to do with early adolescent turmoil and immaturity.

When the sum of squares of the factor loadings equal one, the total variance in the measures has been accounted for. In this factor analytic procedure, 61 factors were identified, but only those with eigenvalues greater than unity were included. Thus, the eigenvalues were used as the point to cease consideration of factor structures. (Harmen, pp. 2-3, 28-55).

Table 4:

Summary of Organizational Climate Factors Differing Factors by Ethnic Perceptions

Personal Ethnic Identity:	Black:	Hispanic:	White:
Number of Students:	253	233	244
Number of Factors with Eigenvalues greate			
than unity:	11	12	10
Items Loading:	37	40	39
Items w. low loadings	24	21	22
Total Items	61	61	61

Table five indicates the clustering of items on the three comparative factor solutions for the three ethnic groups. While the differences in the factor structures is initially striking, there is more complexity to the findings than would appear on the surface. Items load on factors in contradictory ways; teachers are seen both as friendly, and suspicious and often angry. Logically one would expect social issues to be separated from academic issues and teachers. For these students they are clearly not separated. While there are some item linkages among Black and White factors, Hispanic factors are always different from Black and White factors. Black and White students seem to differ more in terms of motivations and interests. Hispanic students seem to be having different experiences entirely.

Table 5:

Item-Factor Descriptions of Organizational Climate by Ethnic Group Perceptions

	Black:	**Hispanic:**	**White:**
N=	(253)	(233)	(244)
Factor 1:	8 items	12 items	10 items
Strongest item:	Serious Discussions	Friendly Students	Teachers Interested
% Variance:	9.0	9.1	9.6
Factor 2:	7 items	5 items	6 items
Strongest item:	Need Right Friends Here	Suspicious Teachers	Opposite Sex Friend
% Variance:	4.7	4.4	4.4
Factor 3:	*5 items*	*5 items*	*6 items*
Strongest item:	Looks Imp't	Not Int. Serious TV	Reputat'ns Dominate Rels
% Variance:	3.4	3.4	3.5
Factor 4:	*4 items*	*4 items*	*3 items*
Strongest item:	Quarreling	Not Int. in Nonfiction	Respect Teachers
% Variance:	2.8	3.0	2.8
Factor 5:	*4 items*	*4 items*	*3 items*
Strongest item:	Need friends w. right people	Students love learning	Like arts
% Variance:	2.6	2.7	2.3
Factor 6:	*3 items*	*3 items*	*2 items*
Strongest item:	Smoking & Drugs	Friendships Easily Made	Opposite Sex Friends
Variance:	2.4	2.4	2.2
Factor 7:	*5 items*	*5 items*	*4 items*
Strongest item:	Quarreling	Opposite Sex Friends	Friendly Students
% Variance:	2.3	2.3	2.0
Factor 8:	*5 items*	*3 items*	*3 items*
Strongest item:	Friendly Students	School is boring	Not int. in serious TV
% Variance:	2.0	2.2	2.0
Factor 9:	*3 items*	*6 items*	*3 items*
Strongest item:	Not int. in serious TV	Unkind Teasing	Sensitivity
% Variance:	1.9	2.1	1.8
Factor 10:	2 items	3 items	3 items
Strongest item:	Reputations Dominate	Neatness Dominates	Loyalties imp't here
% Variance:	1.8	1.9	1.7

table5 *(continued)*

Ethnic Climate Item Factor Descriptions

	Black	*Hispanic*	*White*
Factor 11:	2 items	5 items	no factor
Strongest item:	Safety Imp't	Arts Imp't	--
% Variance:	1.7	1.8	--
Factor 12:	no factor	3 items	no factor
Strongest item:	--	Not inters'td in science talk	--
% Variance:	--	1.7	--

Discussion of Findings:

In looking at factor loadings for the first level of factors across the three ethnic groups, many issues that appear to be contradictory cluster together. This is likely a function of early adolescence with its developmental confusion, physiological disturbances and social trauma. There is also some evidence of behavioral ambivalence in schools that the students see as having low structure. Likely developing out of the need to accomodate varieties of behavioral and cultural standards, the schools may have become lax rather than seeking out ways to reconcile everyone's cultural standards for behavior. At the same time, some of this behavioral ambivalence is related to the calamities of early adolescence and the social activities dominated by adjustments to puberty, social development and other socio-psychological and growth-related activities.

Both Black and White students see their teachers as interested in them, but the items are different and their are no item linkages in factors among the ethnic groups. Hispanic students put their emphasis on social issues. Black students emphasized group solidarity. Black students feel they are conscientious about school. They see themselves as serious about school, but they also say school is monotonous. Related in the first factor Black students see that their teachers are involved with students' feelings and being busy with student issues, teachers getting angry with students, school being "boring," concern for safety, suspicious teachers who don't trust students, clean classrooms, and students taking school work seriously.

White students see their teachers as interested in them, but this is affiliated with social activities, being busy with many activities, orderliness, and new ideas being tried out, teacher efforts to plan and make things interesting, and good manners among students. Both Black and White students saw their teachers as interested in them, but these were different items that did not load together in a meaningful way.

Hispanic students were more concerned that their peers were friendly. School loyalty is important. Students in the school have discussions about school work on their own. Students in the school perceive that they work hard, both in and out of school.

Hispanic students agreed with White students about orderliness in the school, but they also said they were sent home when they had colds and had to be neat and clean when they come to school, which the other groups did not say. Hispanic and White students agreed that the first factor was related in some way to the orderliness of the school.

In looking at the second factors across the three ethnic groups, you will see that there is a difference in emphasis. Where the Black and White students were concerned about academi activities in the first factor, they are concerned with socia concerns in the second factor. This is inverted for the Hispani students. In the first factor Hispanic students were more in volved with social activities. In the second factor Hispani students are apprehensive toward teachers whom they perceiv as suspicious.

While the Black and White students perceive that the fol lowing tier of emphasis is social, the difference for White stu dents is that they are more interested in the opposite sex--whil the Black students are concerned about having the right friends Keep in mind the second factor for Black and White students lin jointly on four items and the difference for the Black students i an emphasis on group solidarity.

Hispanic students link suspicious teachers together wit smoking, drugs, drinking, messy lockers and desks, and the nee to identify with a group of students and go along or be a loner.

In the third factors across the three ethnic groups, th Black and White students again share two items in their factors while the Hispanic students do not share any items with th others. While the Black students emphasized good looks, th White students emphasized reputations. Both Blacks and White said that the teachers made you feel like a baby and that teacher easily got angry with students.

Along with reputations White students linked opposite se relationships with an intrinsic love for learning. For Blac students looks were linked together with teacher relationship and student boredom with school work and serious discussions This would indicate basic differences in social pressures amon the different ethnic groups.

Hispanic students indicate that they are not interested i things the way others seem to be: they indicate they are no interested in serious television programs, and they link this to gether with the interest teachers take in students, the teachers planning, hard work and enthusiasm. There is also an inversel related item indicating that if you are not in a crowd, you are ou on your own. Could it be that Hispanic students see more of schism between themselves and the teachers than the Black o White students do?

Item number three asks the students if teachers really car about students. Item 40 asked if teachers take interest in stu dents: Logically we would expect that these items should hav loaded together on the same factor somewhere, but they do not Clearly there are other issues causing items to load on factors. I is clear that these students are not intractable or affirmativ about their teachers. But, as one reviews the factors and th fundamental framework linking social activities and academi activities. For white students teachers are linked somehow wit group activities. For Blacks and Hispanics this is not so.

The primary indication given from inspection of linkage among these factors is the complexity of deep psychologica underpinnings of ethnic perceptions and driving behavior amon these students. Other factors which follow become increasingl complex as items cluster together in varying patterns and as on looks downward on table five. Beyond factor three and fou factors break down into varying patterns of interaction with th school experience. Indeed, these data reflect much of what w can see in classrooms with early adolescents in them: student who are sometimes children--sometimes adults; often brilliant

but forever forgetful.

These students are short and plump or tall and gangling, and apparently never mediocre; they are inherently awkward, forever knocking things over and forgetting where they have placed things, what they are supposed to do next, or what they had to do for homework. The findings imply a trend toward the perceptions of one ethnic group dominating the school when it is in the majority. The conditions we found indicate the probability of differences among ethnic group perceptions within multiethnic middle schools when two or three ethnic groups are present and none numerically dominate the student body.

But, these findings do point toward the complexity of the early adolescent multiethnic group encounter, and the difficulty of the urban teachers' work. They also point toward (minority) group solidarity that is enforced along ethnic lines (both by background experience, choice and involuntary interactions with others). As one examines items as they cluster together for particular groups one can interpolate a "we"--"they" feeling throughout. Teachers are seen as angry and sensitive at the same time. These data also point toward ***pressures*** that the different ethnic groups are experiencing: these pressures are based upon experiential perceptions and cultural values, from parents, neighborhood peers, and classmate interaction.

Implications for School Leaders:

A Broader Analysis:

These data are difficult to understand because they represent the logical systems of many different kinds of peoples who are living together, experiencing many of the same things, but having different socioeconomic and culturalli-organized perceptions. While table 5 looked at these data in a statistical sense, the following analysis, on table 6, is an interpretation of the same data, according to overall factor content, in order to ascertain meaning that is useful to teachers and school leaders.

Beginning with the basic factor structure presented in the previous table, individual factors were examined in terms of individual items loading on those factors. By means of intrepretive analysis the writer attempted to come up with a logical description that fit the stronger items loading on these factors. Very often the description is not based upon the strongest (highest loading) item. This is the reason for the apparent contradictions between table 5 and table 6. Table six is an overview, derived from the statistical data, interpreted in terms of the language content of these factors. Indeed, examination of the contradictions would give some indication of the difficulty of interpretation. This writer cannot assume that his logical system is any more valid than any other, especially if we are to use the Whorfian Hypothesis as the theoretical basis.

Moving from the top of table 6 toward the bottom factors become 'weaker' as you move down the table. "Strands" indicate the strength of the factor. Priorities are indicated by the improved strength of factors at the top. Positive perceptions are intermingled with feelings about group affiliations, negtative feelings about school structures and pressures to have friends of the opposite sex. More crystalized perceptions of climate are among the "strands" or factors at the top. Feelings about friends are indicated by different kinds of items loading together on factors.

From this vantage point one can see differing priorities

Table 6:

Interpretive Analysis of Ethnically Generated Perceptions of Organizational Climate by Factors

	Black	*Hispanic*	*White*
Strand 1.	Students Against System	Positive Group Process	Positive School Process
Strand 2.	Group Solidarity	Group Self-Concept	Broad Social Group Concept
Strand 3.	Students vs. Teachers	Individualism	Social Press
Strand 4.	Serious Side	Not Serious	Teacher-Group Link
Strand 5.	Social Press	School Commitment	Stability
Strand 6.	Negative Group Press	Friendliness Press	Opposite Sex Press
Strand 7.	Relationship Tension	Opposite Sex Relation Press	"Get Along" Press
Strand 8.	Reputation Press	Negative Schl Press	Neg. Impetuous Press
Strand 9.	Practical Press	Maturity Press	Practical-Serious Press
Strand 10.	Negative Social Interaction	School Structures Press	Passive Social Press
Strand 11.	Serious Side Press	Ethnic-Cultural Press	--
Strand 12.	--	Negative Relationships	--

and degrees of commitment to one's own identity and affiliation with others having similar identity issues. They see their teachers as angry, but caring; but in spite of this Black and Hispanic students often feel alientated from them. Students are looking for more structure, known boundaries with rules that accomodate ethnic diversity while embusing the security of predictable relationships. Human relations and cross-cultural communications need to be part of the curriculum. The affective domaine cannot be ignored in developing school structures and instructional programs for these students.

These findings suggest that the social interaction among early adolescent students in multiethnic middle schools has a deeper infrastructure than previous discussions of cross-cultural social interaction, or of ethnic prejudice have previously indicated.

The students from different ethnic backgrounds associate school events together differently, and among identifiable similarities, they place a different emphasis upon their importance. Together with this, however, teachers appear to be the critical linkage in the perceptions of the students. The implication appears to be that happier, more satisfied teachers can be the critical element in leading ethnic students toward greater harmony and mutual understanding.

The strongest aspect of these findings is that the teachers have a real leadership role to play in causing greater social cohesiveness in multiethnic middle schools. In no way does this idea interfere with the role of school administrators. But, teachers have a leadership role to play in upgrading social interaction in these schools. Where professionals working in the bureaucracy perceive a division between social activities and work activities, these students have no idea of this. School, work, social are all pretty serious business. If school is perceived as "boring," it is both a favorite word and a reaction to routines in school life.

Where many people look toward our schools for predictability and stability, early adolescents have so much changing going on around and inside themselves that all else is boring and dull. In order to make middle schools work better teachers need to jump into the informal activities of the school, to become familiar with activities in the cafeteria, bathrooms and other school areas of where there is little teacher control.

In developing curricula to bring the multiethnic middle school together, attention needs to be given to peer problem solving skills, the development of social awareness and communicationskills. All of this needs to be articulated in terms of cross-cultural understanding and include discussions about different frames of reference and differences in perceptions based upon ethno-linguistic perceptions of shared social and academic events.

Banks suggests a Multiethnic Curriculum which is broadly based and interdisciplinary. Banks outlines a spiraling curriculum for Kindergarten through grade eight, including immigration-migration, power, racism, perception, intercultural communication and acculturation. Values clarification should be added as apart of a combined social studies-English program.well. (Banks, pp. 50-131).

In developing curricula for the multiethnic middle school the curriculum needs to join together the language curriculum and the social studies curriculum. Vocabulary and semantic meanings, connotative language, figurative language and metaphors and cultural features of language should be dealt with in terms of the requirements of integrated social activities in these schools. Foreign language and culture maybe taught in much the same way as "two way" bilingual programs, where students learn from each others language and culture. The success of multiethnic schools for early adolescents is the establishment of "social-learning environments" where curriculum and social activities are merged fostering positive social activities and academic learning simultaneously.

In articulating a combined social studies-language arts curriculum, methodologically combining informal social activities and informal learning arrangements, students will learn to apply critical thinking skills to social activities. The curriculum will develop human relations skills, develop personal self-identity in terms of complex social networks, develop an understanding of the physiology of adolescent growth and its impact on social relationships. Learning activities will occur in smaller sensitively-lead "T-group" arrangements, with closer relationships among teachers and students. Students will learn how to keep friends, make new ones, how to be assertive without being aggressive, and how to use social "networks" for the advancement of positive social interaction. In accepting early adolescence for what it is, textbooks needs to be either disgarded or used as incidental tools in developing cognitive growth at a time when physical bodies are budding and hormones bounding forth to interfere with everything that made sense before. Early adolescence is a time of intense social and physical growth; *it is not a time for sedate learning activities.* It is a time for an "Action Curriculum," filled with social activities which include critical thinking skills applied to social interaction and cross-cultural communication; especially oral communication.

In the development of teachers' abilities to deal with these problems, the arrangement of pedagogical work may be re-articulated in terms of more informal teaching and incorporating academic work in terms of social interaction with less dependence upon standardized curricula, standardized testing, and formalized instruction. Many of the students in this age group seem to have temporarily lost their ability to attend to learning tasks, endlessly forgetful and utterly mindless. They may be so involved in the maturational process that they are unable to attend to learning or concentrate on anything. Perhaps it would be more productive to forget traditional teaching methods and rearticulate teaching in terms of the overwhelming needs of early adolescent social needs and the related adjustments these students are making.

The foregoing study began with middle schools and the need to articulate instructional programs in terms of early adolescence. Clearly, the concepts attending middle school organization have not been implemented, but are still needed, especially for multiethnic middle school students. Ethnic relationships are clearly too complex to quantify clearly. But, to describe that perceptions change and are organized along different logical systems and in varying degrees of intensity is helpful to teachers who would play a positive role on behalf of their students.

The significance of the affective domain has been grossly underestimated in educational research and in the literature of teaching methods. We believe that if more attention is applied to the psychological underpinnings of urban education, then we can begin to see that urban schools have been misjudged in a certain sense, and in another sense the urban student has been ill-served. Some would say that the "system" needs to produce janitors as well as scientists (Spener, p. 133). Some would say that the city schools have just failed to do what they are supposed to do. Others would say that the political dynamic of education is biased against older neighborhoods and poor and minority neighborhoods. In a real sens, all of this is true! But, it is even more important to say that urban schools have beeen misjudged because very few understand the complexity of the issues and what is happening in these schools.

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